Flashback
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Ozark Mountain Crafts

Promoting crafts to aid the poor in 1930s Arkansas

Three craftswomen in the Ozark Mountain Crafts project

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Preserving our past for future generations

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On the Cover: Three craftswomen from the Ozark Mountain Crafts project in the 1930s. From left, they are Aunt Mary Jane Wright, Aunt Til Clark, and Aunt Della Milligan. The women would participate in demonstrations at department stores and exhibitions to promote the crafts project. Photo courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville.

The Slave Narrative Interviews of Miss Adeline Blakeley

By Bettina Lehovec

Adeline Blakeley was born into slavery in 1850, 11 years before the Civil War began. She continued living with the Blakeley-Hudgins family after Emancipation, serving four generations of the Fayetteville clan. The youngest member, who was 14 when Blakeley died in 1945, still remembers her.

Blakeley's story was recorded in several oral interviews collected by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. The Ex-Slave Narrative project collected more than 2,300 interviews in Southern states between 1936-38, including nearly 700 from Arkansas.[1]

Zillah Cross Peel of Fayetteville and Mary D. Hudgins of Hot Springs each conducted an interview with Blakeley. Both interviews are included in the 17-volume *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves*, assembled and published on microfilm by the Library of Congress Project of the WPA in 1941.[2]

As with any historical research, the interviews must be read through the lens of their time. Although the ex-slave narratives were to be conducted mostly by black Americans, in actuality many of the interviewers were white, potentially slanting both the interviewee's statements and the interviewer's lens.

The interviewee's relationship with the interviewer may also have colored the retelling of events. One of Blakeley's interviewers, Mary D. Hudgins, was a cousin of the Hudgins clan, for example. Zillah Cross Peel was likely a family friend.

Bettina Lehovec is a freelance writer living in Fayetteville. She previously covered faith and community news for The Morning News/Northwest Arkansas Democrat-Gazette.

Harvey Hudgins family, Fayetteville, about 1895. Front, from left: Leanora "Nora" Izetta Blakeley Hudgins, Harvey Zeno "Ross" Hudgins, and Harvey M. Hudgins. Back, from left: Jay "Guy" Hudgins, Adeline Blakeley, and Elizabeth "Bessie" May Hudgins Clayton. Mrs. Young, photographer. Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History /Ann Wiggans Sugg Collection (S-2012-131)

Because the interviews were conducted without the use of recording equipment, authenticity relies on note taking and transcription. The span of 70-plus years between the time of slavery and the time the interviews were conducted, and the advanced age of the people interviewed, is another possible source for the discrepancies found in the interviews.

An additional rich source of information about the life of Adeline Blakeley is the account of Ann Wiggans Sugg,[3] the Fayetteville resident who knew Blakeley as a child. Sugg's stories combine her own recollections, stories she remembers Blakeley telling, accounts from other family members, and information gleaned from the WPA accounts.

The information in this article comes largely from Sugg's portrait and the two ex-slave narrative interviews. A third interview, conducted by Virgil C. Irwin in 1941 for the Early Settlers' Personal History project, contains little new information and some erroneous reporting, and so is not as useful for this article.[4]

With some reservation, I will refer to Blakeley and other family members by their first names. This eliminates the possibility for confusion, as so many members share surnames.

Early Years

The woman known as Adeline Blakeley was born in Hickman County, Tenn., around the year 1850.[5] Her mother was enslaved by John P. A. Parks, Sugg's great-great grandfather. Parks had purchased Adeline's mother and her mother's sister and brother as children.[6] Adeline was the first black child born in the Parks household, and was petted and spoiled, she said later.[7]

The Parks family moved to Northwest Arkansas in 1852, bringing 13 children and 14 slaves. They settled on land bought from Tandy Kidd, an earlier settler, on the Wire Road south of Hogeye, about two miles from Fayetteville.[8]

The Parks property was a stop on the Butterfield Stagecoach Line. One of Adeline's early memories was playing church with the Parks' youngest daughter, Fannie, who was a year or two older than Adeline, when the stagecoach arrived.

"Miss Fannie was the preacher and I was the audience. We were singing 'Jesus my all to heaven is gone.' When we were halfway through with our song, we discovered that the passengers from the stage coach [sic] had stopped to listen. We were so frightened at our audience that we both ran. But we were coaxed to come back for a dime and sing our song over. I remember that Miss Fannie used a big leaf for a book."[9]

Other early memories include her mother telling fortunes with a brass ring and knotted string, and fear of the "patyroles" (probably patrols), which would whip slaves found away from their masters' premises without a permit.[10]

In 1855, the eldest Parks daughter, Elizabeth Jane, married John Blakeley, a cabinetmaker in Fayetteville. John Parks gave Elizabeth Jane her choice of a slave to take with her, and she chose Adeline. But Adeline was just five years old, too young to be of much real help.[11] After the Blakeleys' first child was born, Adeline was sent back to the Parks' place and replaced by an adult slave.

Adeline returned to the Blakeleys when she was seven. She was still too young to take full care of the baby, but remembers holding her on her lap. That baby was Leanora Izetta, known as Nora, who was Ann Sugg's grandmother. Adeline was there for the births of two younger children, neither of whom survived to adulthood.[12]

Parks filed a bill of sale in the Washington County courthouse when Adeline was nine, deeding Adeline to Elizabeth Jane for one dollar, "in consideration of the natural love and affections which I have for my daughter . . . and her children."[13]

Civil War Years

Adeline was 11 or 12 when war came to Northwest Arkansas. Fay-

etteville was divided, with Union and Confederate supporters living side by side. The Blakeleys, like the Parks, were Confederate, following the 1861 dictate of the state legislature. Faced with threats for his stance, John Parks temporarily moved his estate to Louisiana, following the Confederate army for protection.[14] The Blakeleys remained in Fayetteville.

Adeline shared vivid memories of the war in the two WPA accounts. There were soldiers "camped all around everywhere" during the buildup to the Battle of Prairie Grove, she recalled. The day of the battle she sat on the yard fence, listening to the shots that "sounded just like popcorn" from 12 miles away.[15]

Adeline Blakeley holding Ann Wiggans, Fayetteville, about 1930. Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History / Ann Wiggans Sugg Collection (S-2006-71-1)

Some Union officers had stopped by the Blakeley house before the battle, asking the family to cook for them. One officer held Nora on his lap and nearly cried, remembering the daughter he might never see again. He asked Mrs. Blakeley to hold his pistols until he returned from the battle. She reluctantly agreed and hid them beneath a tub in the basement. He never came back.[16]

Fayetteville was also the site of several smaller skirmishes. One memorable day, dinner had just been put on the table when the bugle sounded "to arms."[17] The family rushed to take shelter in the basement. Rain and melting snow had filled the shallow space with water. The children were put in a tub in the center while the adults clung to the sides. A neighbor, a Union supporter, came looking for shelter. The family invited her in but she slipped, landing in the water with her legs askew.

"She looked so funny with her big fat legs that I giggled. Mrs. Blakeley slapped me–it was one of the few times she struck me. I was glad she did, for I would have laughed out. And it didn't do to laugh at Northerners."[18]

Another incident involved a rogue Confederate soldier who had set

fire to the county courthouse. He was put in jail and families took turns feeding him. The morning Adeline brought him breakfast, he had torn open his feather bed and crawled inside. "The room was so full of feathers when I got there that his food nearly choked him. I had carried him ham, hot biscuits and a pot of coffee."[19]

Food was often scarce during those years. The family survived by cooking for the Union soldiers stationed in the town. "We were good cooks so that is the way we got our food–preparing it for the soldiers and eating it with them," Adeline recalled. The soldiers' rations included bacon, flour, beans, sugar, coffee, and a dried product called "mixed vegetables."[20]

Adeline Blakeley, Fayetteville, June 11, 1943. Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History / Washington County Historical Society Collection (P-1679)

The Emancipation Proclamation was issued January 1, 1863, although it wasn't enforced in many slave states until the war ended in 1865. A document filed by John Parks lists his slave holdings at the end of the war, with dollar amounts, "freed and taken from me" by the federal government.[21] Adeline recalled that he gave her uncle, George Parks, 40 acres, which remained in the family for several generations.[22]

Adeline's mother moved to Joplin, Missouri. The two lost touch for 50 years, eventually reconnecting through messages shared by mutual acquaintances. They never saw each other again.[23]

Adeline stayed with the Blakeley family. According to the Peel interview: "After the war many soldiers came to my mistress, Mrs. Blakeley, trying to make her free me. I told them I was free but I did not want to go anywhere, that I wanted to stay in the only home that I had ever known. In a way that placed me in a wrong attitude. I was pointed out as different. Sometimes I was threatened for not leaving but I stayed on."[24]

In the Hudgins interview, Adeline relates trouble with the black com-

munity, in particular black children throwing rocks at her when she went to get water from the well.[25]

A few years after the war, Nora Blakeley began teaching in the subscription school across the street. She was 14 and Adeline 19 or so. Adeline went over in the mornings to build the fire. She never learned to read and write. It was against the law in pre-war days and she didn't think she needed it afterward, she said. Late in her life, she told an interviewer that she regretted it. "It sounds funny, but if I had a million dollars, I would give it gladly to read and write letters to my friends."[26]

Nora began studying at the Arkansas Industrial University, now the University of Arkansas, when it opened in 1872.[27] Lack of money kept her out the following year. To help her finish her education, the family took in university students as boarders. Adeline cooked their breakfasts and dinners and packed lunch baskets for them. She named several of them in the Hudgins interview–Jeff Davis, later Arkansas governor and senator, and a Creek Indian named Sam Rice.[28]

Sojourn in Hot Springs / Middle Years

In 1883, Nora married Harvey H. Hudgins, a resident of Hot Springs who owned property on the Fayetteville square. When John Blakeley died in 1887, Elizabeth Jane and Adeline moved to Hot Springs to live with Nora and her family. Elizabeth Jane died a year later, and Adeline stayed with the Hudgins family.[29]

The Hudgins spent about 10 years in Hot Springs, expanding their family to five children during that time. Adeline helped raise the children and run the large household. The Hudgins rented rooms and cottages to visitors who came to Hot Springs for the warm baths.

In February of 1895, a fire swept through town, destroying the Hudgins home and property. The next morning, smallpox flags went up all over town. After a short hiatus with friends in the country, the family moved back to Fayetteville. They still owned the Blakeley house on 103 Rock Street, a block away from where John Blakeley had built his cabinet shop on the square. Harvey ran an opera house in one of the buildings he owned on nearby Block Street and tended other business interests.[30]

The Hudgins' youngest children, a set of twins, were born in 1900. They were Helen Masberne Hudgins, Ann Sugg's mother, and Harry King Wade, nicknamed Bud.

Adeline attended the births, as she had so many others. Nora contracted tuberculosis around that time and remained ill for the rest of her life, Sugg said. Adeline reared the twins and continued to run the household. A 1943 article written by Lessie Stringfellow Reed, editor of the *Northwest Arkansas Times*, hinted at the scope of her activities.

"It is interesting too to hear her tell of her duties in the home. How

she would prepare the meals and serve the grown folks, and while they ate she would see to the children, that they were properly cared for and ate what they should."[31]

Reed called her a "housekeeper, nurse, and friend, loved accordingly and made to feel like a member of the family."[32] She was never paid a salary, but given an allowance, Sugg said. In the Hudgins interview, Adeline recalled making her own money from a cow given her by Harvey Hudgins.

"I made money then. . . . I sold milk and butter and kept all I made. Why the first evening dress Helen had and the first long pants Bud (Wade) had I bought."[33]

Adeline also recalled tucking $45 into her purse for a highly anticipated trip to the circus in Fort Smith. But Bud got sick, canceling the outing.

Later Years

Nora Hudgins died in 1917, on the night of the twins' high school graduation. The family had moved into a new house on 101 Rock Street by this time. Adeline, age 67, stayed in the house, caring for the family and later managing apartments for rent. Mary D. Hudgins, the niece who interviewed her, lived in the house for a time.[34]

Helen married Clifford Barnes Wiggans in 1928. Their only child, Ann Wiggans Sugg, was born in 1930, when Adeline was 80 years old. Adeline maintained close relations with the family, walking to the Wiggans house on Washington Avenue to visit, and caring for Ann in her own home when her mother went out.

"I can't think of Adeline without remembering certain constants," Sugg said according to an undated photo caption published in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*. "She always had a peppermint candy for visiting children; she almost always wore a stocking cap made of a real stocking; she usually wore a sparkling white apron; she pieced quilts of miniature patches until her eyes gave out; and she always had a canary."[35]

In 1934, Helen and Ann and Adeline took the train to California to visit Helen's sister, Bess Hudgins Clayton, and Bud. Adeline suffered from severe motion sickness, but she wanted to see the ocean, Sugg recalled. Each time the train stopped, Helen went up to the segregated coach car to check on her.[36]

Adeline's strongest memory of the trip was finally seeing the circus. "It seemed so funny for us to be together way out there in California, with the family grown up and seeing Barnum & Bailey which we had planned to see a long time before," she said in the Hudgins interview.[37]

In reflecting on her life in the Hudgins interview, Adeline expressed a philosophical acceptance for its varied parts. "My life's been a full one, Honey, and an interesting one. I can't really say which part of it is best. I

can't decide whether it's a better world now or then. I've had lots of hard work, and lots of friends, lots of fun and I've gone lots of places. Life is interesting."

Adeline was considered something of an "institution" in Fayetteville, "known, loved and respected" by the white community, according to a statement written by John G. Sugg, Ann's husband.[38]

Less is known about Adeline's relationship with the black community. Optometrist Sugg asked one of his black patients if she remembered Adeline. "Oh yeah. We considered her a celebrity," came the reply.[39]

Adeline had a stroke in the summer of 1944. The Wiggans had moved to St. Louis, Missouri, the year before. They hired a couple to care for Adeline in her home. She died in May 1945, at about 95 years of age.

She was buried in the family plot in Evergreen Cemetery on Center Street. Helen Wiggans and Bess Clayton, Ann's aunt from California, had been planning to come to Fayetteville for the summer. They considered waiting to have a service until they arrived. But fearing objection about burying Adeline in the all-white cemetery, Helen came by herself and took care of things quietly.[40]

The funeral was held at the Watson Mortuary, with O.L. Gibson, pastor of First Baptist Church, presiding. The pallbearers were white businessmen who had known Adeline: Frank Lewis, Leland Bryan, Frank Suttle, Jim Vaughn, Ralph Dowell, Jack Phillips, Jim Parks and Ted Wylie.[41]

Adeline's name is inscribed on the headstone next to Elizabeth Jane, her first mistress and longtime friend. She is the only black person buried in Evergreen Cemetery, interred with the family she served all of her life.

Endnotes

[1]Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers' Project 1936-38, https://www.loc.gov/collections/slave-narratives-from-the-federal-writers-project-1936-to-1938/about-this-collection/

[2]*Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves*, located at https://www.loc.gov/item/mesn021/. Peel's interview is found on pages 11-16 of Volume 2, part 1; Hudgins' interview on pages 180-93. Because the Peel interview refers to "Aunt Adeline Blakely" and the Hudgins interview "Adeline Blakeley," it is unclear whether editors understood they were about the same person.

[3]Interview with Ann Wiggans Sugg, conducted Oct. 18, 2019, in Springdale, AR.

[4]"Early Settlers' Personal History" conducted by Virgil C. Irwin on Jan. 27, 1941. Copy held at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.

[5]There is some discrepancy in the dating of her birth. The Peel interview states 1848 and the Hudgins interview, July 10, 1850. The fact that the Parks family moved to Prairie Grove in 1852, when Adeline was a year or so old, gives credence to the later date.

[6]Peel interview, Sugg.

[7]Hudgins interview.
[8]Sugg interview.
[9]Peel interview.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Hudgins interview.
[12]Sugg interview.
[13]A copy of this document is included in the Adeline Blakeley holdings of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.
[14]Peel interview.
[15]Hudgins interview.
[16]Ibid.
[17]Ibid.
[18]Ibid.
[19]Peel interview.
[20]Hudgins interview.
[21]A copy of this document is included in the Adeline Blakeley holdings of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.
[22]Peel interview.
[23]Ibid.
[24]Ibid.
[25]Hudgins interview.
[26]Ibid.
[27]The land-grant institution was formed in 1871, with classes beginning in January 1872. Nora Hudgins graduated in 1878, according to Sugg.
[28]Hudgins interview.
[29]Sugg interview.
[30]Ibid.
[31]Lessie Stringfellow Reed, article printed in the *Northwest Arkansas Times* in 1943; reprinted in *Flashback*, 1988.
[32]Reed, *Flashback*, 1988.
[33]Hudgins interview.
[34]Nora Blakeley specified in her will that the family take care of Adeline for the rest of her life, Sugg said. "But there would have been no question that they would have. She was just an important part of their life."
[35]Undated photo clipping from the *Northwest Arkansas Times* held by Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, Arkansas.
[36]Hudgins interview.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Statement included with copy of Hudgins interview and held by Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, Springdale, AR.
[39]Sugg interview.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Undated newspaper clipping held at Shiloh Museum of Ozark History, referencing the 1945 obituary for Adeline Blakeley in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*.

Adeline Blakeley's Interview with Zillah Cross Peel

Editor's Note:

The following interview with Adeline Blakeley was conducted by Mrs. Zillah Cross Peel and is one of two collected in the 17-volume *Slave Narratives: A Folk History of Slavery in the United States from Interviews with Former Slaves*, assembled and published on microfilm by the Library of Congress Project of the WPA in 1941. The other was conducted by Mary D. Hudgins.

The text is reprinted from *Bearing Witness: Memories of Arkansas Slavery Narratives from the 1930s WPA Collections*, Second Ed., edited by George E. Lankford, and published by the University of Arkansas Press, Fayetteville (2006). It is reprinted here courtesy of the University of Arkansas Press.

BLAKELY [sic], AUNT ADELINE: NARRATIVE
Age: 89
101 Rock Street
Fayetteville, Arkansas
Interviewer: Mrs. Zillah Cross Peel

"I was born a slave about 1848, in Hickmon County, Tennessee," said Aunt Adeline, who lives as care taker in a house at 101 Rock Street, Fayetteville, Arkansas, which is owned by the Blakely-Hudgens estate.

Aunt Adeline has been a slave and a servant in five generations of the Parks family. Her mother, Liza, with a group of five Negroes, was sold into slavery to John P.A. Parks, in Tennessee, about 1840.

"When my mother's master came to Arkansas about 1849, looking for a country residence, he bought what was known as the old Kidd place on the Old Wire Road, which was one of the Stage Coach [sic] stops. I was about one year old when we came. We had a big house and many times passengers would stay several days and wait for the next stage to come by. It was then that I earned my first money. I must have been about six or seven years old. One of Mr. Parks' daughters was about one and a half years older than I was. We had a play house back of the fireplace chimney. We didn't have many toys; maybe a doll made of a corn cob, with a dress made from scraps and a head made from a roll of scraps. We were playing church. Miss Fannie was the preacher and I was the audience. We were

singing 'Jesus my all to Heaven is gone.' When we were half way through with our song we discovered that the passengers from the stage coach had stopped to listen. We were so frightened at our audience that we both ran. But we were coaxed to come back for a dime and sing our song over. I remember that Miss Fannie used a big leaf for a book.

"I had always been told from the time I was a small child that I was a Negro of African stock. That it was no disgrace to be a Negro and had it not been for the white folks who brought us over here from Africa as slaves, we would never have been here and would have been much better off.

"We colored folks were not allowed to be taught to read or write. It was against the law. My master's folks always treated me well. I had good clothes. Sometimes I was whipped for things I should not have done just as the white children were.

"When a young girl was married her parents would always give her a slave. I was given by my master to his daughter, Miss Elizabeth, who married Mr. Blakely [sic]. I was just five years old. She moved into a new home at Fayetteville and I was taken along but she soon sent me back home to my master telling him that I was too little and not enough help to her. So I went back to the Parks home and stayed until I was over seven years old. My master made a bill of sale for me to his daughter, in order to keep account of all settlements, so when he died and the estate settled each child would know how he stood. [This statement can be verified by the will made by John P.A. Parks, and filed in Probate Court in the clerk's office in Washington County.]

"I was about 15 years old when the Civil War ended and was still living with Mrs. Blakely and helped care for her little children. Her daughter, Miss Lenora [correct spelling: Leanora], later married H.M. Hudgens [correct spelling: Hudgins], and I then went to live with her and cared for her children. When her daughter Miss Helen married Professor Wiggins (correct spelling: Wiggans], I took care of her little daughter, and this made five generations that I have cared for.

"During the Civil War, Mr. Parks took all his slaves and all of his fine stock, horses and cattle and went South to Louisiana following the Southern army for protection. Many slave owners left the county taking with them their slaves and followed the army.

"When the war was over, Mr. Parks was still in the South and gave to each one of his slaves who did not want to come back to Arkansas so much money. My uncle George came back with Mr. Parks and was given a good mountain farm of forty acres, which he put in cultivation and one of my uncle's descendents [sic] still lives on the place. My mother did not return to Arkansas but went on to Joplin, Missouri, and for more than fifty years, neither one of us knew where the other one was until one day

a man from Fayetteville went into a restaurant in Joplin and ordered his breakfast, and my mother who was in there heard him say he lived in Fayetteville, Arkansas. He lived just below the Hudgens home and when my mother enquired about the family he told her I was still alive and was with the family. While neither of us could read nor write we corresponded through different people. But I never saw her after I was eleven years old. Later Mr. Hudgens went to Joplin to see if she was well taken care of. She owned her own little place and when she died there was enough money for her to be buried.

"Civil War days are vivid to me. The Courthouse which was then in the middle of the Square was burned one night by a crazy Confederate soldier. The old men in the town saved him and then put him in the county jail to keep him from burning other houses. Each family was to take food to him and they furnished bedding. The morning I was to take his breakfast, he had ripped open his feather bed and crawled inside to get warm. The room was so full of feathers when I got there that his food nearly choked him. I had carried him ham, hot biscuits and a pot of coffee.

"After the War many soldiers came to my mistress, Mrs. Blakely, trying to make her free me. I told them I was free but I did not want to go anywhere, that I wanted to stay in the only home that I had ever known. In a way that placed me in a wrong attitude. I was pointed out as different. Sometimes I was threatened for not leaving but I stayed on.

"I had always been well treated by my master's folks. While we lived at the old Kidd place, there was a church a few miles from our home. My uncle George was coachman and drove my master's family in great splendor in a fine barouche to church. After the war, when he went to his own place, Mr. Parks gave him the old carriage and bought a new one for the family."

"I can remember the days of slavery as happy ones. We always had an abundance of food. Old Aunt Martha cooked and there was always plenty prepared for all the white folks as well as the colored folks. There was a long table at the end of the big kitchen for the colored folks. The vegetables were all prepared of an evening by Aunt Martha with someone to help her.

"My mother seemed to have a gift of telling fortunes. She had a brass ring about the size of a dollar with a handwoven knotted string that she used. I remember that she told many of the young people in the neighborhood many strange things. They would come to her with their premonitions.

"Yes, we were afraid of the patyroles. All colored folks were. They said that any Negroes that were caught away from their master's premises without a permit would be whipped by the patyroles. They used to sing a song:

'Run nigger run,
The patyroles
Will get you.'

"Yes'm, the War separated lots of families. Mrs. Parks' son, John C. Parks, enlisted in Colonel W.H. Brooks' regiment at Fayetteville as third lieutenant. Mr. Jim Parks was killed at the Battle of Getysburg [sic].

"I do remember it was my mistress, Mrs. Blakely, who kept the Masonic Building from being burned. The soldiers came to set it on fire. Mrs. Blakely knew that if it burned, our home would burn as it was just across the street. Mrs. Blakely had two small children who were very ill in upstairs rooms. She told the soldiers if they burned the Masonic Building that her house would burn and she would be unable to save her little children. They went away."

While Aunt Adeline is nearing ninety, she is still active, goes shopping and also tends to the many crepe myrtle bushes as well as many other flowers at the Hudgens place.

She attends to the renting of the apartment house, as caretaker, and is taken care of by members of the Blakely-Hudgens families.

Aunt Adeline talks "white folks language," as they say, and seldom associates with the colored people of the town.

Ozark Mountain Crafts:

Aiding the poor through making and selling traditional Ozark crafts

By Laura Lyon Redford

Three "Aunties" from the 1930s Ozark Mountain Crafts project. From left, Aunt Mary Jane Wright, Aunt Til Clark, and Aunt Della Milligan. Photo from MC #593, Dwight Moore Papers, 1896-1975, Folder #1. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville.

The coronavirus pandemic of 2020 brought with it illness, death and economic distress to a large segment of the population. This triggered a governmental response including loans to large and small businesses, expanded and increased unemployment insurance, and cash payments to most individuals in this country.

We have come to expect relief assistance from the federal government in times of disaster. A hundred years ago, governmental relief was not the norm. Assistance was instead provided by individuals or organizations such as local churches. This article is about just such an organization and one of the unique means it used to aid the poor.

Laura Lyon Redford is a long-time member of the Northwest Arkansas Handweavers Guild and instructor in various levels of shaft-loom weaving. With Martha L. Benson, she is co-author of Ozark Coverlets: The Shiloh Museum of Ozark History Collection. *Together, they continue to examine and document handwoven coverlets through their Ozark Coverlets Project.*

In 1911[1] or 1912[2] the wives of Fayetteville businessmen established a charity named the Relief Association and Thrift House. Over the next few years, very specific needs were addressed. Newspaper clippings announced that Professor H. E. Truax, assistant in the Department of Horticulture at the University, donated 15 bushels of Irish potatoes for distribution through the Relief Association.[3] There was more than one request for clean white rags to treat "bad, running wounds."[4] Clothing for new babies was so much in need that the organization appointed Mrs. Mitchell Holt as "Layette Chairman" in 1923.[5]

Betty Whitmire (left) and Nancy Honsinger card and spin wool on the front porch of Whitmire's home, described as a typical mountain cabin. Photo courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

Fundraising for the Relief Association, also referred to as the United Relief Association, was personal and local. Collectors were assigned to churches and ministers were asked to encourage giving. "The Relief Association which before the world war [World War I] made annual drives for funds, but which since the war has depended on voluntary subscriptions secured by the several collectors, could have aided a great many more people if funds had been larger."[6] The public plea in 1919 was a blatant one: "Every father in Fayetteville who feels comfortable at night because he owns the roof over his head and has a fund in the bank sufficient to meet his monthly needs is expected to make an annual subscription to the United Relief Association which will renew its pledges Sunday of this week."[7] No subtlety here.

The need must have been great. Social security did not begin until 1935; Medicaid to pay for doctors or disability and unemployment payments began much later. Charity had to come from local sources.

Annual and sometimes quarterly reports appear in the news. This annual financial report for 1922 is fairly typical and details the local and personal nature of the assistance:

> *Some of the work of the Association is of permanent value. For instance, homes have been found for four children who will be permitted to grow up decent citizens in the right kind of environment; and one little girl, who would otherwise have been able to have no schooling because of poor eyes, is now getting a* [sic]

education because the Relief had her eyes treated and fitted with glasses which now enables her to use them freely.

Employment has also been found for 47 persons out of work and school books and clothing have been supplied to ten children who would otherwise be out of school. Nearly a thousand second-hand garments have been fitted and given away and in two cases house rent has been paid for to tide worthy families over bad times during which they would have otherwise lost their homes.

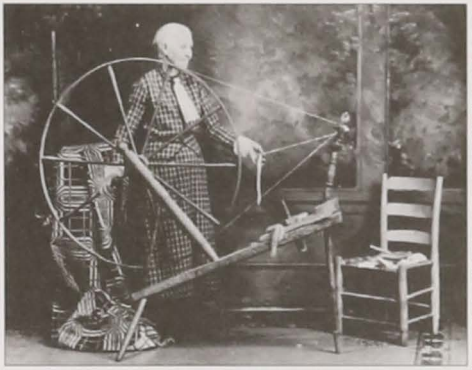
The report continues in detail listing amounts of different food stuffs, prescriptions and medicines, typhoid serum, Christmas baskets, and other aid provided. "More than 100 colored children were also given Christmas from Sunday Schools and Rotarians, through Relief auspices. The thirteen inmates of the county home were remembered."[8]

In 1924, a new resident joined the effort to aid local residents. Elizabeth "Betsy" French Moore moved with her botany professor husband, Dr. Dwight M. Moore, to Fayetteville. Mrs. Moore was born in 1897 in Indianapolis and raised in Chicago. She attended the Pestalozzi-Froebel Kindergarten Training School, which stressed the importance of early childhood education and trained kindergarten teachers.[9] Moore established a nursery school through the Thrift House and provided assistance to mothers and families.[10] Through this work, she saw first-hand the plight of women and children who did not have enough to eat or enough money to keep their homes. She devised a novel way to help these families.

The headline in the *Arkansas Gazette* on July 24, 1932, describes both the problem and one solution: "Thrift House Aids Fayetteville Poor, Needy Are Given Work to Do to Pay for Food and Clothes." The article begins, "An interesting way of meeting present-day economic problems has been developed at the Thrift House, Fayetteville. Although of recent date the system reminds old-timers of conditions during the pioneer period. . . . Labor was often paid for with supplies." In other words, labor is exchanged for an "order" that can be used for fuel, clothes, or groceries at Thrift House.

Equally reminiscent of pioneer days is the Weavers Guild, a recently added branch of the Fayetteville relief work. Realizing that present-day interest in early American handicraft might be turned to account in the interest of women needing employment, Mrs. Dwight M. Moore and other welfare workers of Fayetteville are making an effort to revive the hand loom industry formerly well-known in Arkansas. When this enterprise was started a few months ago the first need was for a woman who really understood the craft. Mrs. Moore considered herself fortunate in discovering Mrs. Nancy Honsinger, an elderly [she was 66 years old in July 1932] Fayetteville woman who is an expert at all the processes of spinning and weaving as practiced by old-time settlers.

Mrs. Moore has scoured the country for spinning wheels and looms such as our grandmothers used. One of the looms she has obtained is over 100 years



(Left) Aunt Til Clark is shown at age 73, wearing her homespun dress. A hand-woven coverlet is draped behind her. (Right) The Ozark Mountain Crafts display at the Davidson Bros. Department Store in Sioux City, Iowa, October 1934. Shown (from left) are Aunt Della Hembree, Aunt Til Clark, Aunt Sarah Weir, and Dad Lilly, a fiddler. Photos courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

> *old. Several of these looms and spinning-wheels have been found in farm-house garrets and barns. For the most part they were, when first found, quite out of repair, even falling to pieces. It has been necessary to put them in working order, no easy task in these days for knowledge of the craft is scarce. With the eager help and advice of the old-timers this difficult work has been accomplished.*

This same article continues, describing the work the women are doing, spinning, dyeing thread, weaving, and making coverlets. Famous patterns being used included Wheel of Fortune, Whig Rose, and Indian War. Other items for sale include handwoven linens and tweeds.

The article concludes, "Apart from being a means of assistance to those who might not be able to find any other means of employment, the Weavers Guild is of value to helping to keep alive an interesting handicraft in danger of dying out. It is only the very obtuse who see no difference between factory work and hand work. Homespun products have a distinctive quality appreciated by those who have taste. It is to be hoped that the enterprise of the Fayetteville Weavers Guild will meet with sufficient encouragement to warrant its continuance."[11]

In 1932, it was announced that the "Weavers' Guild Has Own Room." Money from the sale of rugs made and sold by weavers was used to build a room at the home of Mrs. Nancy Honsinger at the corner of Church and First Streets. "Fourteen women now are employed as funds permit at the guild in spinning, carding and weaving. Four looms, four spinning wheels and two flax wheels are included in the equipment of the Guild." [12]

Moore must have been a skilled organizer and promoter. Newspaper articles regularly appeared about the program. She gave programs, set up displays and arranged for very large exhibits of the program to trav-

(Left) The exterior of the cabin built in the 1930s as the home of the Ozark Mountain Crafts project. The structure still stands in the neighborhood near today's Wilson Park. (Right) The cabin interior showing the area for the women to card, spin, and weave fabrics for coverlets and other items.The loom can be seen at the far left. Photos courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

el to various cities. There were four different levels of display with cost ranging from $300 per week or $1000 per month to a very large "Peter's Village" at $5,000 per month.[13] Large exhibits were erected at Vandevers Dry Goods in downtown Tulsa[14], Davidsons Department Store in Sioux City, Iowa[15], the National Cotton Show in Memphis[16], and Lewis Brothers store on the square in Fayetteville.[17] Many smaller displays, exhibits and programs were presented at club meetings, celebrations, and fairs. While these were entertaining and educational, the primary purpose was promotional, to sell products for the benefit of the workers.

In June 1932, a coverlet handmade by the Weavers' Guild was on display at J. F. Moore's and offered for sale for $30. The Thrift House was now growing cotton for the use of the Weavers' Guild. Weavers received $2.50 per yard for weaving in four treadles (a more complicated fabric than plain weave), $1 per pound for carding and spinning cotton or wool, and $2 per yard for threading the loom.[18]

By the spring of 1933, plans were announced for a cabin to be erected on Moore property to be made of native logs hewn artistically, covered with native shingles erected ell-shaped with a porch. One room would be a weaving room.[19] The cabin was erected about 1935. That building is still standing and has been converted to a dwelling. The exterior logs are clearly visible.

That same article reported that the Arkansas general assembly had made provision for an exhibit of coverlets, rugs, looms, spinning wheel, and weavers at work at the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition.[20]

By 1934, the name had changed from Weavers Guild of Fayetteville to Ozark Mountain Crafts to better reflect the wider range of items available for sale which now included baskets, chairs, and other items.[21]

There were probably many aid recipients whose names we do not know. These are the people named in articles or identified on photographs, who were the public face of the program.

People Who Were the "Public Face" of Ozark Mountain Crafts

■ Nancy Davenport Honsinger, "Aunt Nancy," was born in 1866 in North Carolina and was an expert at all processes of spinning and weaving making handwoven coverlets almost indistinguishable from pioneer pieces.[22] She participated in many of the out-of-town demonstrations and displays of the Ozark Mountain Craft Association. When the first weaving room was constructed beside her house at First and Church Streets, she would have been 66 years old–not old by our standards but often described as "aged" in the newspaper articles. Nancy died in 1942 and is believed to be buried in Combs.[23]

■ Martha Elizabeth "Betty" Davenport Whitmire, "Aunt Betty," sister to Nancy Honsinger, was born in 1868 in North Carolina. Martha and her husband Miles Whitmire came to Arkansas in 1893 and homesteaded in Madison County. She worked alongside her husband to clear the land and farm.[24] Betty was a registered mid-wife and delivered many babies in the area.[25] Aunt Betty is identified in the handwritten caption on one of the photos in the University of Arkansas Museum Collections which also indicates that it was taken at the entrance to her cabin. She and her sister, Nancy, must surely have both learned the skills of carding, spinning, and weaving in their childhood in North Carolina. Betty Whitmire died in 1944 and is buried in Wesley in Madison County.[26]

■ Elizabeth Matilda Clark, "Aunt Til," was born in North Carolina about 1860.[27] She seems to have very much enjoyed her new-found celebrity in working with the weavers and spinners. She says she carded as a child but did not spin until age 70. She wove the material for her suit and for 20 yards for portieres (curtains hanging over a door or doorless entry into a room). She made a lot of rugs, some of which were hung on walls.[28] The last newspaper mention of "Aunt Til" in December 1950, noted that she was 92 years old.[29]

Aunt Sarah Wier shown with some of her handmade baskets. Photo courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

■ Mary Jane Muncy Wright, "Aunt

Mary Jane," was born in Kentucky in 1858. She participated in many out-of-town demonstrations. She died in 1944 and is buried in the Evergreen Cemetery in Fayetteville.[30]

■ Della Scott Hembree would have been one of the younger weavers, born in 1886 in Washington County. Interestingly, she is not referred to as "Aunt Della." She died in 1969.[31]

■ Sarah Ann Southern Wier, "Aunt Sarah," was born in 1886 in the Blackburn Community northeast of what is now Devil's Den State Park. In 1912, she married Tandy Marcellious Wier, 17 years her senior, and had three children. He died in 1943. Sarah was the daughter of "the original maker of the famous Winslow mountain baskets. Her father, Mack Southern, was taught the basket design by his father who learned the art of weaving the unique design from an African slave who brought the skill with him when he was captured and brought to this country by New England slave traders.[32] Sarah's aunt, Sarah Ida Moore Southern, was a well-known basket weaver in the 1920s and 1930s.[33] Aunt Sarah Wier died in 1966.[34]

■ Della Milligan is believed to have been born in Kentucky in 1885. (There is some conflict between records.) By 1900, she was married to Thomas L. Milligan and living in Madison County, Arkansas.[35]

When visited in her mountain cabin last week, motherly Aunt Della was weaving a beautiful coverlet, the kind cherished for generations by many families. Its colors were soft blue and white and the pattern the old favorite, Rose of Sharon.

'How long,' she was asked, 'does it take to set up a loom?'

'Well, two can do it in a day,' she replied, 'but I'd rather take two days and do it myself–the others talk too much.' [36]

Aunt Della died in 1969 and is buried near St. Paul.[37]

■ Park Leroy Lilly, "Dad Lilly," was born about 1860 in Wisconsin.[38] He learned to fiddle and began making his own fiddles when he was a boy of 13 living in Iowa.[39] He entertained those attending the Ozark Mountain Crafts displays. Dad Lilly died about 1947 in Oklahoma.[40]

Park Leroy Lilly, known as "Dad Lilly," made–and played–his own fiddles, entertaining at Ozark Craft Mountain displays. Photo courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

■ Adam Byford is identified on a photograph as the chair maker. Little has

been discovered about him but it is believed he was born in 1871, worked in the timber industry, and died in 1951.[41]

■ Christopher Columbus "Lum" Gibson was identified by a Gibson family member as the basket weaver in the photo in the Ozark Mountain Crafts scrapebook. He is the first of the famous Gibson family to make baskets. Born in 1865, he would have been in his 60s when he worked with Ozark Mountain Crafts. Lum Gibson died in 1947.[42]

(Photo above) Ozark Mountain Crafts chairmaker Adam Byford. (Below) Christopher Columbus "Lum" Gibson, a basketmaker with the crafts project. His descendents carry on this art, selling baskets at Fayetteville's Farmers Market. Photos courtesy of The University of Arkansas Museum Collections.

We do not know if there was an official end-date of this unique program that had as its purpose aiding poor people. With the deaths of some of the principal weavers in 1942 and 1944, the program may have simply faded away. We know that Betsy Moore continued to be involved in her welfare work through various agencies, such as the Red Cross. After her death in 1965, Dr. Dwight Moore donated many items related to Ozark Mountain Crafts to the University of Arkansas Museum and later to the University of Arkansas Libraries Special Collections. It is through those donations and various newspaper accounts that we know of this enterprise.

Ozark Mountain Crafts holds a unique place in the pantheon of craft organizations in the Ozarks. Its purpose was to provide purpose and sustenance to the participants by making and selling traditional items such as chairs, baskets, rugs, coverlets, and linens. In that way, it was not unlike

other, later, organizations such as the W.P.A. Weaving Center in Decatur or the Ozark Native Craft Association in Winslow. However, Ozark Mountain Crafts' emphasis was on the historical design and methods. Later organizations, such as the Arkansas Craft Guild, Northwest Arkansas Handweavers Guild, and others honored traditional skills but also incorporated newer materials, methods, and designs. The short life of Ozark Mountain Crafts stands alone but remains part of the thread connecting artists and crafts people from many eras.

The author appreciates the assistance and research support of Mary Suter of The University of Arkansas Museum, and Susan Young and Carolyn Reno from the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.

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Silent Vigil: The Work of Stone Carver Lucy Daniel Twigg

By Abby Burnett

Here's a not very challenging pop quiz: list the careers open to women in Arkansas in the late 1800s, not including the obvious ones of wife and mother. Everyone finished? Okay, pencils down. Who has school teacher? Dressmaker? Milliner? Bookkeeper?

Did anyone write tombstone carver? No, of course not.

In the late 19th century it was rare for a woman to work in any traditionally "male" profession; in the stone industry it was almost unheard of. In about 1901 *The Monumental News*, an industry trade journal, wanted to write about female tombstone carvers and managed to locate only three.[1] They were Canadian Alice Rigg, Kansas native Pearl Sams, and a woman they'd already profiled six years earlier, Missouri resident Lucy Daniel. All three women had been taught to carve by their fathers; all lettered and polished tombstones but did not do heavy stone cutting; all three were unmarried.

Photo: Lucy Daniel in 1895 at age 30 years. *The Monumental News.*

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Lucy Jane Daniel lived and worked in Washington County for only a few years, but, all told, she spent approximately four decades of her 92 years in various parts of Arkansas. In common with male carvers of her day, her life has been difficult to document, but at least she was the subject of four published articles. In none of them did she mention her true claim to fame: creating this country's first memorial to reunification following the Civil War, a work that has gone unrecognized for more than 130 years.

Lucy Daniel successfully staked land claims in Kansas and Nebraska while simultaneously carving stones and running a monument business. Her unconventional life included a number of tragedies and hardships, which seems to have been a carver's lot. (Contemporaries experienced deaths from alcoholism, suicide, and incarceration in a mental asylum; one abandoned multiple wives and children. Only one made his own tombstone, pre-need, while others are buried in unmarked graves.)

Tombstone carvers are easily overlooked by history but their skill and artistry are all around us. Such creativity is found in cemeteries but additionally, in Lucy's case, at the edge of a Civil War battlefield.

Lucy's parents Isom (or Isham) and Rebecca Daniel, born and living in Kentucky, had been married for about two years when the Civil War started. Isom enlisted in the Union army in 1861, in Company K, 23rd Regiment, Kentucky Volunteers, and was discharged "on account of diseases" in 1863.[2] Daughter Charlotte was born in 1864, and Lucy Jane in 1865, followed by daughter Sabra Angelina, and son James Jesse, all born in Kentucky.

Lucy was very young when she saw her first tombstone, in either Kentucky or Arkansas. It was an inauspicious start to what would become her career.

> *When a child she was sent to pick blackberries, not far from her home. It happened that the best berries were along a fence which surrounded a small country grave yard. Peeping through the heavy growth of bushes for berries, her childish eyes rested upon a snow white headstone in the grave yard. Not being used to such, the little girl promptly dropped her bucket and ran screaming to her home. An aunt came back with her and explained to her the significance of the first headstone she had ever seen.*[3]

In 1871 the Daniels came to Arkansas where Isom, as a Union veteran, received a 160-acre land patent near Charleston in Franklin County. Here their last child, daughter Stella Kathrine, was born in 1872. It's not known where, or when, Isom learned to carve, but his tombstones are found throughout the Charleston area. By the 1880 census the family

had relocated to Fort Smith (Sebastian County), where Isom was soon working for Lilly & Company, a monument business he appears to have run from his home.[4]

It is not known what prompted the Daniels to move to Springdale in 1883, as their relatives stayed behind in Fort Smith, but the move allowed Isom to open his own monument shop in a town with no competition.[5] Then too, Springdale was served by a railroad–necessary for obtaining marble–and was experiencing rapid growth: from 249 to 1,146 people in the 10 years from 1880 to 1890.[6] The Daniels paid $350 (about $9,000 in today's money, according to online conversions) for half a block in Putnam's Addition.

Lucy said she learned to carve stone because her mother had called her lazy for refusing to learn to quilt.[7] Her father taught her to letter stone (their lettering styles are indistinguishable from one another's) and, in 1885 when she turned 20, Lucy took over the management of her father's monument shop. She did the lettering and polishing of tombstones, but wasn't "stout enough" to make the large, rectangular blocks used singly or in multiples as tombstones bases, as she was only a little over five feet tall, and weighed 105 pounds.[8]

Tombstone carvers can be difficult to research, and not just because there are so many Jones, Mitchell, and Kelly surnames among them. Carvers are most easily tracked through their newspaper advertising, but Springdale papers are missing for the period when the Daniels lived there. Complicating matters is the fact that carvers moved often. Prior to the Civil War, families rarely had access to professionally carved tombstones, so, in the decades following the war, there was a demand for backdated tombstones. Despite also making building stones, mantels, and marble table tops, carvers usually had to move on once they had filled a community's backlog of tombstone orders.

The majority of these carvers signed their work, and although the Daniels did not, two grave markers in Scott County have been positively identified as Isom's work. There is a Lilly & Co. receipt for Calvin Taff's monument in Salem Cemetery,[9] while the John L. Davenport tablet ("Assassinated by the Waldron ring" in 1878), in Pleasant Grove Cemetery, is signed "Lilly's, Ft. Smith." These examples, along with the lettering on the bases of Lucy's Pea Ridge reconciliation monument, provide a template of the Daniels' lettering style and can be used to identify their unsigned work.

Though Isom and his daughter decorated their tombstones with the standard mourning motifs of their day (lambs, doves, clasping hands),

theirs were unique interpretations. Clasping hands were carved with the left arm encased in a reticulated sleeve; globular roses sometimes appear above the hands, and rick-rack edging outlines inscription panels. If these attributions are correct, the Daniels' extraordinary creativity is illustrated by three local examples. One is a primitive, three-dimensional lamb atop the grave of 11-month-old Willie Gladen (died 1889) in Springdale's Bluff Cemetery, whose almond-shaped eyes foreshadow ones Lucy would later carve on her war memorial.

The obelisk of Russell Bird, in Springdale's Salem Lutheran Cemetery, is another unusual example. According to his inscription, Bird was killed on August 20, 1885, and the marker contains a clue to his death: a raised carving of a man standing beside a well, with one hand on the rope descending from the well's pulley. According to a newspaper account Russell Bird, a teamster by trade, was using dynamite to blast a well but when the charge did not go off he, "descended into the well and was blown almost into fragments."[10]

A third, highly original, example is young Annie Hooker's marker in Rogers' city cemetery. The Hooker family lived in Jacksonport, Arkansas, at the time of the 1880 census, where father Lesicle Hooker was a house painter. It's unknown what brought them to Rogers, but daughter Annie died there on August 23, 1882, at seven years of age. The lettering on her chunky obelisk matches Lucy's style, but, more importantly, it contains what appears to be a portrait of Annie. Evidence for this is found in the row of small curls across the girl's forehead.

Bangs were the height of female hair fashion in the late 1800s. But, unlike the straight, cropped bangs worn today, in this era hair was curled in a series of small, tight bunches arranged across the forehead. The ones on the tombstone's carved face may be a design element, or they could have been something the child wore–or wished to. After all, Annie's maternal grandmother, who lived with the family, was a milliner by trade. A woman in this line of work would have followed, and worn, the latest fashions.

Lucy Daniel, however, did not. "I don't wear bangs," she told *The Monumental News* in 1895 (the first time she was written about). And, she added, "[I] have not time to fool with such things as I have a real good trade here."[11] There are a half-dozen photos of Lucy taken at various ages, proving that she would wear her severe and bang-less hairstyle for the entirety of her long life.

In September of 1886 the Daniels, having paid off their Springdale property, sold it for a $50 profit and moved to Cassville, Missouri.

The reason for leaving may have been the arrival of serious competition in the form of the Morley family. Decades later the Morleys' ads would state that they'd established their Fayetteville business in 1882, but the true start-date was closer to 1885 or 1886.[12] Once established, the Morleys had business partners, sons in training, and the ability to create tall, showy monuments unlike anything the Daniels were able to achieve.

Missouri seems to have suited the Daniels–they would live and produce tombstones there for the next two decades.

In September of 1887 Confederate veterans gathered at Pea Ridge, in Benton County, to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Civil War battle fought on that site (aka the Battle of Elkhorn Tavern) and to unveil a memorial honoring the generals killed there. Though billed as a Confederate reunion, "many former Union soldiers were present, and they asked to be allowed to pay their respect to the Confederate dead." Some even contributed money for the marble marker.[13] Though some modern writers have stated that Union and Confederate veterans' enduring bitterness caused them to hold separate reunions on the battlefield, this is simply untrue. Eyewitness accounts of this and subsequent reunions stress the friendship between the two sides. Union veterans "were welcomed as friends and neighbors, and were happy to accept and extend hospitalities," according to an 1887 account[14]; while, "I never ceased to be delighted and amazed at the apparent lack of bitterness on the outcome of the war," noted Erwin Funk, about later reunions.[15]

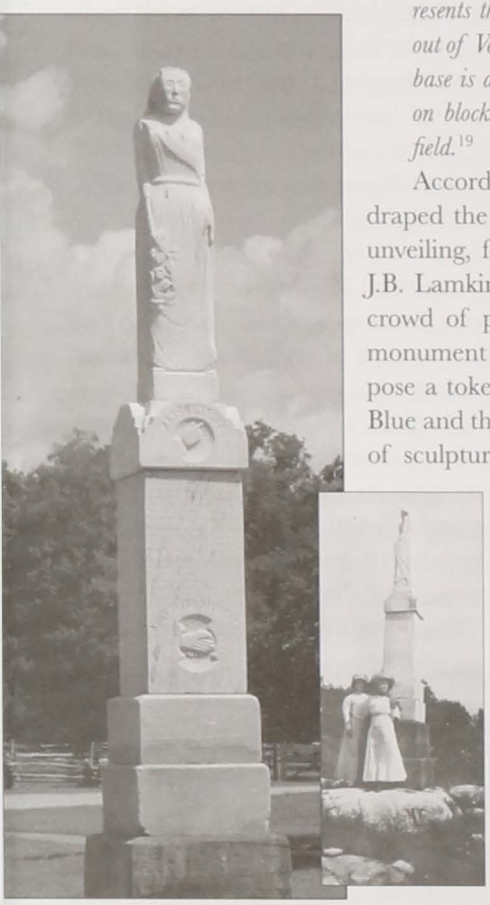
The first gathering proved so popular that a Reunion Association of the Blue and the Gray was formed to oversee making the event an annual one. The next year, in 1888, the reunion (now billed as the first reunion) drew a reported 2,500 attendees. Isom Daniel and his family almost certainly joined the large contingent that came down from Cassville, Missouri.[16] Evidence for this comes from the dance-drama titled "Secession and Reunion," supposedly the "best part of the reunion," described by an eyewitness the following year.[17] (Note that, at the time of the Civil War, there were 34 states in the Union.)

> *It was a dance routine put on by 35 beautiful girls, all dressed to look their prettiest. One was dressed all in white and reigned as Miss Goddess of Liberty. The other girls, each with a banner telling the state she represented, came on the stage and all danced around the goddess. Then, they fell out, part went to the south side of the stage, the rest to the north.*
>
> *This was to represent the breaking up of the union. After a while, they made up and all danced once more around the goddess.*[18]

The following year Lucy and her father returned to Pea Ridge for its

official second reunion. This event drew more than 7,000 people, despite torrential rains that delayed festivities for a day and a half. Eventually, though, the skies cleared and the crowd was treated to speeches and recitations of poetry. Then, after a lunch break, came the unveiling of the second memorial to be placed at the site. A reporter for Little Rock's *Arkansas Gazette* described it this way:

> *After dinner a monument erected on the battlefield was unveiled and presented to the survivors of both armies – the Blue and the Gray. The monument represents the 'Goddess of Liberty,' chizzled [sic] out of Vermont and Maine statuary marble, the base is also Vermont marble, the whole resting on blocks of sand stone taken from the battle field.*[19]



The "Goddess of Liberty" statue in 2020. Photo by Abby Burnett. (Inset) The statue (ca. 1912-13) with Mrs. Douglas and Mrs. Crockett (positions unknown) gives a sense of scale. Henry D. Tovey, photographer. Courtesy Shiloh Museum of Ozark History / Washington County Historical Society Collection (P-3826:3:1)

According to this account Isom Daniel draped the statue, and Lucy performed the unveiling, followed by a speech by Captain J.B. Lamkin, "in the presence of a monster crowd of people, stating that it is the first monument ever erected having for its purpose a token of perpetual friendship for the Blue and the Gray." It was Daniel's first work of sculpture, but she did not sign it unless time, weather, and vandalism have obliterated a signature.

The newspaper writer had high praise for various speakers, but of Lucy's statue he could only muster, "The work is very crude and resembles nothing to speak of." A.W. Hurley, another eye-witness to the event, was kinder. "While the work on the monument is nothing great, the spirit of the donor is good, and this kind remembrance will be appreciated by the Blue and the Gray."[20]

It cannot be a coincidence that the girls' dance-drama featured a white-garbed central

figure known as the Goddess of Liberty, while Lucy's white marble female statue also goes by that name—not to mention also wearing a sash. (This dance was performed at subsequent reunions as well, and the name may have been applied at a later date.) The statue is also referred to as Reunited Soldiery and Angel Aloft, names taken from inscriptions on the statue's base.

Lucy adapted conventional tombstone symbols for use on the monument. An upraised finger, traditionally a reminder of the soul in heaven, is found here pointing to the words, "Angel Aloft." Clasping hands traditionally represent the farewell between the living and the dead, and are almost always carved so that the hand emerging from the left side of the panel has stiff, straight fingers (the dead hand), actively clasped by the hand on the right (the living hand).[21] Lucy, rather than carving a farewell handshake, gave both hands straight fingers that are reaching out in reconciliation. The hands' cuffs are labeled "The Blue" and "The Gray" and appear beneath the words, "A reunited soldiery."

Even the wreath of entwined roses and lilies in the statue's hand employs the two most popular flowers found in tombstone art. The rose usually denotes a fully-lived life (or, in the case of an infant, the bud that will bloom in heaven), while lilies commonly represent mourning and death.[22] Thus the wreath symbolizes both life and death, an appropriate tribute to living friendship after wartime carnage.

Also included on the statue's pedestal are the names of two of the battle's ranking officers: Major General Samuel R. Curtis (Union) and Major General Earl Van Dorn (Confederate), each identified as "Commander of the Army of the Southwest" and clearly labeled "Blue" and "Gray." (Both men survived the battle of Pea Ridge, though Van Dorn

Details of Lucy Daniel's Goddess of Liberty statue showing tombstone symbols of the upraised finger pointing to heaven, clasping hands of "reunited soldiery," and wreath of roses and lillies representing life and death. Photos by Abby Burnett.

was killed in 1862 in an event unrelated to the war.) If all of this weren't clear enough, one base includes a lengthy poem written by Captains J.B. Lamkin and Puckett (first name unknown) and professor John R. Roberts. In contrast with the lugubrious verses found on the nearby Confederate memorial ("...Yes, give me the land of the wreck and the tomb/There's a grandeur in graves–there's a glory in gloom") the one beneath Lucy's statue begins:

Spirit of eternal light,
Keep silent vigil o'er the brave;
The untarnished blue,
The unsullied gray,
In peace and love unite.

Lucy couldn't have been clearer that the monument honored both sides. But, with the passage of time, her gift has come to be misidentified as a Union memorial, as though it had been placed there to counterbalance the Confederate one.

Despite Lucy's claim, in 1901, that her business was growing, she and her family had a desire to homestead land, something they did the following year. Thanks to Kansas newspapers, it's clear that Lucy didn't stop carving when she took up homesteading. Lucy's new home of Meade County, in southwestern Kansas, was near the Oklahoma state line and she made tombstones for cemeteries in both states (although, technically, Oklahoma did not become a state until 1907). She twice successfully "pre-empted" homestead claims by filing an application for land, improving it over a period of years and then receiving a deed of title. She sold one such land claim for $2,000 and another for $1,500.[23]

By the time of the 1910 census, Isom and Rebecca, Lucy, Stella, and brother James–all of them having homesteaded land–had moved again. This time they located near Dome, in Sioux County, Nebraska, where they all, again, staked claims for homestead land.[24] Isom, Lucy, and James are all listed on this census as making and selling monuments and tombstones.

The Kansas carver in *The Monumental News*' 1901 profile stated, "I love my trade and expect to follow it as long as my name is Miss Pearl Sams." As with traditional jobs, once a woman married she was expected to stop working (although Sams returned to carving whenever the need arose.). Lucy was no exception. In November of 1912 she married John Twigg, a man whose land claim adjoined hers–it may be how the two met. The marriage license gives both their ages as 43 but, in fact, John was 45 and Lucy was 47. No children would be born of this union.

Lucy Daniel, likely in her 90s. Photo from Ancestry.com

Nothing is known about the next six years of Lucy's married life. Once her story resumes in late 1918, everything changed. John Twigg was gone. He left for Kansas City, Missouri, then claimed to have moved to Chattanooga, Tennessee, to look for work. In early 1919, after four months' silence, Lucy's sister Stella placed a "Missing Relatives" ad in a Kansas City newspaper, asking for help finding him. If she received any information it was not promising, because one month later a bill was introduced in the Arkansas Senate, "For relief of Lucy J. Twigg," which was referred to the judiciary committee.

By October of 1918, Isom, Rebecca, Lucy, and Stella Daniel were back in Arkansas, this time having bought land in Baxter County. They settled in the Amos community, all living in the same household, as was perhaps the norm for unmarried daughters. It's not known how they survived financially as there is no evidence that they made tombstones, but Stella worked as a school teacher and bought and sold land, while Isom—who had been struck by lightning in 1913, adding to his many infirmities—received a Civil War pension. Perhaps the state judiciary committee eventually authorized money for Lucy, because in January of 1920 she paid the Byrds (no relation to Springdale's Russell Bird) $240 for 80 acres of land.

On the 1920 census Lucy is identified as a wife, but by 1930 she was calling herself a widow; her obituary would state that she was widowed in 1917. (This, perhaps coincidentally, was the same year John Twigg received the deed to his own Nebraska homestead, enabling him to sell the property.) John ended up in Texas, where he is listed as a widower on successive censuses.

Rebecca Daniel died in 1923, and her tall, columnar marker of locally quarried red limestone was presumably made by her family. Isom died almost exactly five years after his wife, but no tombstone has been found for him—a surprisingly common occurrence among tombstone carvers. Because area cemeteries were relocated and combined during the creation of Bull Shoals Lake in 1947, it is possible that his marker was never moved.

Baxter County deed books contain numerous real estate transactions

made by the Daniels over three decades, most of them by Stella, who despite being younger than Lucy is listed as head of the household on the 1930 census. Perhaps her land dealings helped support the two, struggling as they did to survive the Depression. From 1930 to 1935 the State of Arkansas regularly took land from the sisters, presumably in lieu of tax money, and in 1939 the women were unable to repay a $350 bank loan which lost them the 120 acres they'd used for collateral.

Detail of Lucy Daniel's Goddess of Liberty statue. Photo by Abby Burnett

In 1939 Stella sold 44 acres to her brother, James Jesse, for a token $1–land she'd paid $400 for, 18 years earlier. The next year, according to the 1940 census, James, now a widower, was the head of his sisters' household. Then, in January of 1943, he was found dead in an abandoned house. A newspaper article stated that he had been seen drinking heavily in Mountain Home on Sunday, but his body was not found for another four days. A coroner's jury ruled the death to be from natural causes due to the extreme cold. However, $600 from a recent land sale was missing from his person.[25]

It would be interesting to know if James had sold the family house out from under his sisters, but the Baxter County deed books have no records of any land sales made by James in 1942 or early 1943, so it's unclear what he sold. It may be significant that in 1945, two years after James died intestate, his two adult children deeded 44 acres of Baxter County land to Lucy for $1. It was the same acreage that James had purchased from Stella for $1.

Lucy and Stella left Baxter County shortly after this and moved to Garfield–the location of Lucy's Pea Ridge statue–very near the Missouri state line. Their sister Sabra still lived in Exeter, Missouri, and it was in her home that Stella died in March of 1944. Lucy lived briefly in Eureka Springs, but ultimately she and Sabra made their home together. Both sisters died in 1957. Lucy went first, dying of carcinoma at age 92 in May; Sabra died the following month.

The small, simple granite blocks that mark Stella's, Sabra's, and Lucy's graves are difficult to spot in Exeter's Maplewood Cemetery. Lucy's and Sabra's stones were paid for by Sabra's son, who in both instances

switched the order of their maiden and married names, burying them under their Daniel surname.

A visitor to Pea Ridge National Military Park, near Garfield, would be forgiven for missing the importance of Lucy's statue. It stands adjacent to Elkhorn Tavern, its ravaged face pocked with black mildew. Vandals have gouged graffiti on the various bases and as far up as the statue's skirt, while deep rivulets in the marble indicate that it has suffered the effects of acid rain or, more likely, harsh cleansers. Ask a park ranger at the visitors' center for information about the Goddess of Liberty and one is likely to get a smirk or a sigh of dismissal–or both.

None of this should detract from what Lucy Daniel did, however. The fact that she was a woman carving stone at a time when there were few careers open to women, let alone a demanding one in the stone industry, is an accomplishment in its own right. But this 24-year-old woman, who had been carving professionally for a mere four years, purchased two large blocks of statuary marble, turned the largest piece into a work of folk-art using only a mallet and chisels, hauled those pieces to the battlefield, and erected them into a tower of stone bases, topped with the statue. This she presented as her gift to Civil War veterans to honor their reconciliation and friendship.

In any age this would be an outstanding achievement for a carver of either sex.

Endnotes

[1]"Some Women Marble Cutters," *The Monumental News*, December, 1939, p. 120, reprinting an undated article originally published "some years after 1885." Based on internal evidence, this was most likely published in 1901. Accessed at: https://quarriesandbeyond.org/states/ks/images/mosome_women_marble_cutters_mon_news.jpg

[2]Isham W. Daniel Civil War pension file. According to documents spanning 1863 to his death in 1928, the war left Daniel with chronic illnesses and disabilities that entitled him to an invalid pension.

[3]"Woman Marble Cutter Is Lucy J. Daniel of Meade, Kansas, Has Followed Occupation 21 Years," *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 21, 1906, p. 9.

[4]*Fort Smith City Directory*, 1881 (Little Rock: O'Dougherty and Sarchet, 1881), pp. 399, 408.

[5]The nearest tombstone carver was Ernest Dorman in Fayetteville (10 miles away). He relocated his business from Fayetteville to Prairie Grove around the time the Morley family established their tombstone business in Fayetteville.

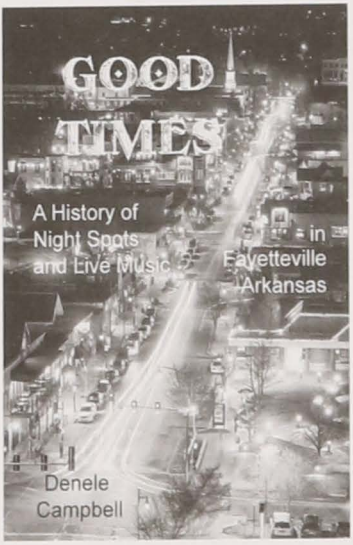
[6]Velda Brotherton, "Springdale (Washington and Benton Counties)," *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture*. Last modified January 16, 2019, accessed April 13, 2020, https://encyclopediaofarkansas.net/entries/springdale-washington-and-benton-counties-1010/

[7]"Bright Kansas Women," *The Wichita Beacon*, October 25, 1902, p. 11.
[8]"Miss J. Lucy Daniel," *The Monumental News*, January, 1895, p. 92, accessed at: https://quarriesandbeyond.org/cemeteries_and_monumental_art/pdf/monumental_news_jan_1895.pdf
[9]Bill of sale for monument and small headstones, Taff probate file, paid by the Taff estate in 1882; receipt from the Lilly Co., with J.W. [sic] Daniel printed on the form, both courtesy Scott County Historical Society.
[10]"Local and Personal," *Fayetteville (Weekly) Democrat*, August 27, 1885, p. 3. Note: name is spelled Byrd in obituary and Bird on tombstone.
[11]"Miss Lucy Daniel," *The Monumental News*, January 1895, p. 92.
[12]Abby Burnett, "'No Pompous Marble to Thy Name We Raise:' A.H. Morley and Family, Fayetteville Tombstone Carvers," *Flashback* 58 (Fall, 2008), p. 119.
[13]J. Dickson Black, *The History of Benton County* (Little Rock: International Graphics Industries, 1975), pp. 253-254; Black quotes an unnamed speaker (possibly a newspaper account) without providing sources.
[14]*Goodspeed's 1889 History of Benton County, Arkansas*, Benton County section excerpted, reprint by the Benton County Historical Society (Cane Hill, Arkansas: ARC Press, 1999), p. 82.
[15]Eleanor Forward Cooke, "Reunion at Pea Ridge: Memories of Men Who Fought in '62," *Arkansas Gazette*, March 3, 1957.
[16]Wilma Cole, "A Park in the Making," *Arkansas Democrat Magazine*, August 24, 1958, quoting Melinda Frances Scott, age 92, who grew up at Elk Horn Tavern and witnessed numerous reunions: "The men brought an entire butcher shop down from Cassville, Mo."
[17]A.W. Hurley, "The Blue and Gray Reunion at Pea Ridge, Sept. 1889," *Benton County Pioneer*, 2 (September, 1957), pp. 3-5; Augustus Ward Hurley became editor and publisher of the *Benton County Democrat* in 1887, and was likely covering the reunion for his newspaper.
[18]J. Dickson Black, *The History of Benton County*, p. 255.
[19]"At Elk Horn; The Reunion on the Old Battlefield a Great Success," *Arkansas Gazette*, September 8, 1889, p. 2.
[20]A.W. Hurley, "The Blue and Gray Reunion at Pea Ridge, Sept. 1889," *Benton County Pioneer*, 2 (September, 1957), p. 4.
[21]Abby Burnett, "Hand Motifs of the Arkansas Ozarks," *AGS Quarterly*, Bulletin of the Association for Gravestone Studies, 37 (Spring 2013), pp. 5-9.
[22]Douglas Keister, *Stories in Stone; A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography* (Utah: Gibbs Smith, 2004), pp. 43-44, 49-50, 54.
[23]"Woman Marble Cutter Is Lucy J. Daniel of Meade, Kansas," *Topeka Daily Capital*, October 21, 1906, p. 9.
[24]According to Civil War pension documents, Isom and Rebecca Daniel also lived in Baca Co., Colorado, in 1905-1906 and 1914 – 1918, though there is no evidence that Lucy lived there.
[25]"Coroner's Jury Pronounces Daniel's Death Natural," *Baxter Bulletin*, February 5, 1943, p. 1.

Good Times: New Book Chronicles History of Fayetteville Night Life

By Denele Campbell

The following is an excerpt from GOOD TIMES: A History of Night Spots and Live Music in Fayetteville, Arkansas, *by Denele Campbell, published in April 2020. The book is available at the Washington County Historical Society Bookstore at Headquarters House (http://www.washcohistoricalsociety.org/#) and through Amazon.*
This is Chapter 1: "The 19th Century."



The enjoyment of vibrant music and joyful dancing along with the consumption of intoxicants is an ancient and revered tradition enduring from the earliest prehistoric tribes down to 19th century Western European nations. These social customs arrived in North America along with the pioneers and became established in the frontiers of the United States. Every early village had a tavern where travelers could quench their thirst, find a meal perhaps while enjoying a song accompanied by a fiddler's tune before bedding down for the night. Neighbors gathering for the hard work of a barn-raising looked forward to the evening when someone bowed a fiddle and jugs of home brew circulated to lubricate tired muscles needed for dancing.

Settlers in early 19th century Fayetteville felt no shame in the en-

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Arkansas native Denele Campbell tracks her family's roots in the state back to the early 1800s. Her writings on local history include articles published in Flashback *and several books. A 19th century history of the West Fork Valley is Campbell's most recent work.*

joyment of strong drink. As early as 1820, the Arkansas territorial government passed regulations requiring licenses for taverns and imposing a tax on distilleries in order to secure revenue for government operations.[1] With statehood in 1836, among the first acts of the state legislature were regulations allowing municipalities and other local governmental entities to license dram shops and taverns or even stop the sale of alcohol within their jurisdictions.

Government regulation of alcohol for tax purposes led to restrictions on venues where music and dance occurred. Undergirded by the religious fervor of the Second Great Awakening, the temperance movement gained strength not only from religious quarters but from owners and managers of factories and workshops which required a sober workforce. Fayetteville quickly gained a significant community of temperance advocates. One of the town's early religious periodicals, *The Witness: The Voice of the People in the Will of God*, ran notices of the Fayetteville Temperance Society's meetings. The February 16, 1841, edition stated that more than 130 persons had become members who had sworn off "tippling."

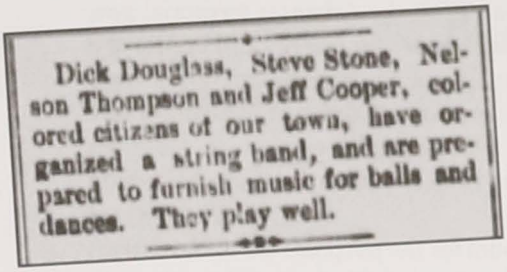
Temperance or not, the alcohol trade continued to flourish. Home manufacture of hard liquor and beer transformed field crops like corn and barley into valuable, non-perishable commodities. In the 1840s, Fayetteville hosted two licensed taverns and 15 dram shops (bars). In the 1850s, two licensed taverns remained in operation alongside 10 dram shops even though the state government had begun to cower under temperance pressure.

In 1855, the Arkansas legislature passed a law allowing local townships to vote whether to allow alcohol sales within their boundaries. The default position, without such a vote, was no liquor sales, which put the onus on those who wished to preserve access to liquor, forcing them to expose their appetites to an increasingly censorious public.

In Washington County, Fayetteville and its surrounding Prairie Township alone managed to gather sufficient petition signatures to continue the sale of spirituous drink. This contributed to the city's future as the county seat. In 1860, Fayetteville's new Virginia Hotel on the southwest corner of the Square advertised their "fine saloon" with Harry at the bar. "He can mix the drinks and no mistake."[2]

On January 24, 1861, Washington County officials voted to ban the use of the courtroom for public dance.

> *And now on this day it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court now that the Court room has been and now frequently used for a dancing and exhibition room of all kinds, It is therefore ordered by the Court that the Commissioner of the Court house room this [day] forward prohibit any further exhibition or*


Dick Douglass, Steve Stone, Nelson Thompson and Jeff Cooper, colored citizens of our town, have organized a string band, and are prepared to furnish music for balls and dances. They play well.

MUSIC! MUSIC! MUSIC!

Boney Hauptman desires to inform the public that he has re-organized his celebrated String Band, and is now prepared to furnish first-class music for

Balls, Parties, &c.,

at reasonable rates. All orders left at my office, in Moses Edwards' barber shop, will receive prompt attention.

BONEY HAUPTMAN,
Dec. 3th, 1874. Prof. Music.

Ads such as these appeared in Fayetteville newspapers during the 19th century. The ad on the left is from December 1882; the one on the right is dated 1874.

> *dancing in the Court room upstairs, and that said room be kept exclusively for the purpose of holding Court in and no other and that the platform or stage now standing in said Court room be taken out, with as little damage to the room as possible.*[3]

Following the Civil War, saloons appeared on every side of the Fayetteville Square with advertisements offering their wares as well as novel entertainments such as bowling and pool. No records have been found regarding dancing or music in these saloons.

On February 20, 1869, Fayetteville passed Ordinance 7:

> *All retailers of spirituous and fermented liquors within the corporate limits of this city shall be required to pay for license for selling the aforesaid liquors at the sum of .75 per day excluding Sundays.*

In 1871, the city amended Ordinance 6 which increased the dram shop licensure fee to $250. An annual fee of $50 was levied on any billiard table, pigeon hole, or Jenny Lind table. Owners of such tables would be fined from $25 to $100 if they allowed any boy less than 18 years of age to play. Any drug store owner or merchant who sold alcoholic drink was to be charged the same licensure amount as a dram shop if they allowed purchasers to imbibe on the premises.[4]

In Great Britain, the traditions of drink and dance split along class lines. At elite dances in opulent private ballrooms, the upper classes enjoyed chilled champagne and, for the men, brandy served by footmen roaming the periphery of the dance floor. At taverns where the less wealthy partook of ale, rum, or gin, spontaneous dance might erupt when tavern owners paid a few cents to musicians–or simply allowed them to play. In the supposedly classless society of the young United States, these traditions evolved somewhat, although the wealthy still held their private balls. Women were increasingly less likely to appear in taverns. Instead, dance halls provided a place for men to chum up with "fallen" women.

After the war, Fayetteville society page ads like Hauptman's and public notices in the *Fayetteville Weekly Democrat* reveal that drink and dance

were often public events, even if not officially billed as such.

The young folks enjoyed a hop at the court house Thursday evening. Some of the boys got to dance and others succeeded in securing a partner for the 16th quadrille at the next hop.[5]

A most enjoyable hop was given at the residence of Judge Gregg on Wednesday evening Dec. 26th, which was graced by the beauty, wit, and chivalry of the city… [6]

A most enjoyable hop was given at the residence of Judge Davis, near town, on Tuesday evening last … All joined in the "mazy dance" until 12 o'clock when an elegant supper was served.[7]

What's the sense in taking a bottle in your pocket to a dance unless the cork is made secure? Whiskey is going to be whiskey this winter![8]

There has been several drunks in town this week, notwithstanding the fact there is not a saloon in the county, and a physician's prescription is required to get a "drap of speerits in case of sickness."

The present law in our city is the hugest joke ever perpetrated on an unsuspecting community. Whiskey will be drank just as long as it is made.[9]

Beyond the immediate chaos of the post-Civil War period, temperance efforts renewed with increasing vigor. People began to equate lawlessness with alcohol abuse and banning strong drink became part of the effort to restore public civility–to the dismay of many.

In the 1870s and 1880s as fees and taxes increased on alcoholic drink at local, state, and federal levels, enterprising individuals began hiding their illicit production and sale of spirituous drink. Revenuers, charged with enforcing the law, carried out raids against moonshiners or "wildcatters" and destroyed their equipment. Illegal stills in caves and basements in and around Fayetteville became a reliable source of 'shine. No doubt many a joyously tipsy gathering danced 'til the wee hours in barns and private homes.

The so-called Three Mile Law, passed March 21, 1881, allowed citizens to petition their county court to ban the sale or "giving away" of alcoholic drink of any kind within three miles of any academy, college, university, or other institution of learning, or of any church house in the state–no doubt aimed in part at Fayetteville whose Arkansas Industrial University had organized a mere decade earlier. Despite not having the right to vote, women were given legal right to sign such petitions in this matter, which was important because women tended to be stronger supporters of temperance measures. Violators would be found guilty of a misdemeanor and fined $25 to $100.

In the September 1882 conference of the Fayetteville Baptist Association, several platforms passed in flying colors. Not surprisingly, one of

them centered on temperance in specific reference to the new Three Mile Law which forbid the sale of alcoholic beverages within three miles of a college.

In 1906, Fayetteville Ordinance No. 172 specified additional restrictions meant to crush so-called Blind Tiger operations wherein a person might visit a place and, through a portal which hid the person inside, pass through money and obtain strong drink. Property owners were warned that they would be held personally criminally liable if any tenant of a room, house, or tenement should "by call, sound, word, or token" allow someone to "pass through or into any room or place . . . so owned or controlled or occupied by another and there obtain such alcohol, ardent or vinous spirits or malt liquors, or any compound or tincture commonly called bitters or tonics, it shall be deemed presumptive evidence of the guilt of the party who owns, controls or occupies such house or room." Penalties for such violations included fines from $100 to $500 and imprisonment up to 30 days.[10]

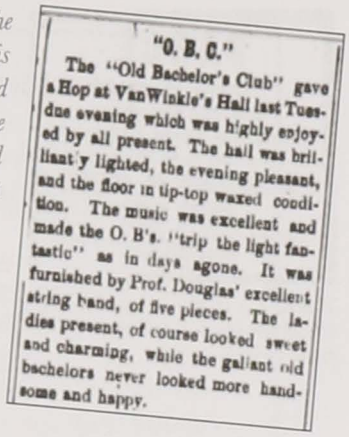
By the early 20th century, dance halls had earned increasingly troubled reputations because they were one of the only public places that men and women could mingle. Preachers railed on about the "popular amusements" of the day including movies and card games, but also dance. Evangelist Erwin:

> *One of the bad features of this practice was the immodest dressing on the part of many women and girls who indulge. The attraction and curse of the dance is its sex appeal. Separate the sexes there and the dance dies. The undue liberties which men take with other men's wives in dancing had broken many homes. The dance brakes [sic] down girl's modesty and self-respect. She easily becomes the victim of the lecher with whom she may dance. Every disreputable house has a dance hall in it because it is part of the business.*[11]

During that time period, both public and private dance halls existed in Northwest Arkansas. Between 1911 and 1920, the Gentry city council voted to levy a fee on its dance hall and a fatal knife fight erupted in Springdale's dance hall. Heavy rains in May 1923 caused flooding at Bella Vista's dance hall and a February 1924 notice in the *Fayetteville Daily Democrat* reported on an attempted robbery in Tin Cup at the "old dance hall."

Like many cities where dance halls served as alleged if not actual houses of prostitution, Fayetteville "society" continued to host social events that included dance. These sanctioned dances served select strata of the population. In 1905, the Ozark Social Club organized with 40 charter members. The club occupied the second floor of the opera house (Ozark Theater) described as "the handsomest hall in town."

The club is fortunate in having secured the services of Prof. Barr for the coming year. His orchestra is growing more and more popular and his engagements more numerous. In addition to the large dance hall there will be a card room and reading room and as a matter of course none but social games will be tolerated.[12]



"O. B. C."

The "Old Bachelor's Club" gave a Hop at VanWinkle's Hall last Tuesdne evening which was highly enjoyed by all present. The hall was brilliant y lighted, the evening pleasant, and the floor in tip-top waxed condition. The music was excellent and made the O. B's. "trip the light fantastic" as in days agone. It was furnished by Prof. Douglas' excellent string band, of five pieces. The ladies present, of course looked sweet and charming, while the gallant old bachelors never looked more handsome and happy.

Fayetteville Weekly Democrat, January 24, 1884.

Frank Barr directed the Fayetteville City Band, organized in 1921. It included a brass section, tenor and alto saxophones, clarinets, and drums. One of Barr's students, Owen Mitchell, later succeeded him with Mitchell's Orchestra, an 11-piece group furnishing dance music for campus events and social gatherings throughout the region in the late 1920s.

University dances were sponsored by departments, sororities, and fraternities, heavily chaperoned and generally taking place in the National Guard Armory building which in 1928 was painted and redecorated with money raised by students. Less privileged members of the community had their own solutions to the age-old desire for revelry:

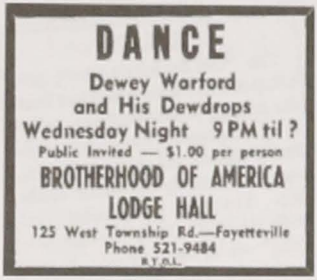
Dance Hall Raided: Six Persons Jailed

Following a raid on a private dance in a home on South Block Street late Saturday night, six local persons were jailed on drunkenness charges. Oma Carroll, former waitress in a local hotel…was among the group. Others were Dillard Pence, Anderson Daugherty, Tom Nation, Bob Motley and his son Trop Motley. Sheriff Henry Walker made the arrest.

In the black community, known as "Tin Cup," rented rooms in private homes were available to black travelers who were refused accommodation in city hotels and inns. "Naomi Smith's house on Center Street was similarly a residence with rooms for rent upstairs and a café for the community. It sold barbeque, sandwiches, candy, and ice cream."

"'It was like a little juke joint and you'd go in there and dance,' said Virginia Denton, who was born in 1949 and was Smith's niece. 'People went there for recreation. It had booths.'"[13]

Amendment 18 passed in 1917 and was ratified with the Volstead Act in 1919, banning all production or sale of alcoholic drink. An era of lawlessness ensued with the manufacture of illicit liquor, underground speakeasies, and bootleggers transporting their valuable wares in hopped-up cars that could outrun the revenuers. The bottom finally fell out of the temperance movement in the 1932 election of Franklin D. Roosevelt who



The ad ran in several editions of the *Northwest Arkansas Times* in April and May 1969

ran his presidential campaign on the promise of overturning alcohol prohibition. As the new federal law worked its way through Arkansas, it didn't take long for Fayetteville entrepreneurs to offer the eager public what it had so sorely missed.

Immediately after the repeal of prohibition on June 10, 1935, Fayetteville adopted laws regulating the manufacture and sale of spirituous, vinous, and malt beverages. The following year, in October 1936, Fayetteville Ordinance Number 793 addressed alcohol sales and dance halls.

> *It shall be unlawful to sell of serve beer or light wine, or allow the same to be consumed, in any dance hall or place where dancing is carried on; and it shall be unlawful for dancing to be allowed in any place where beer or light wines are being sold, dispensed, or served; and it shall be unlawful to sell beer or light wines in any place or building where there is a direct entrance allowing ingress or egress to any dance hall or place where dancing is allowed.* [Section 3]

Private clubs were required to meet strict non-profit criteria, but they could serve alcoholic beverages including mixed drinks, the only place where mixed drinks were legal. And club members could dance—country clubs, fraternal organizations like Elks Club or Moose Lodge, or social organizations—creating a strong, steady market for musicians. There were barn dances, UA Greek club dances, UA student dances, radio dance music programs, and square dances, plus a proliferation of new styles of dance to an increasing variety of music like the Latin-flavored rhumba, tango, and cha-cha, the ragtime inspired "Bunny Hug," and the jazz-based "Black Bottom" originating in black clubs.

With the resurgence of clubs and nightspots, various notices of public dances began to see the light of day. In 1936 alone, 30 mentions of public dance events appeared in the Fayetteville newspaper.

- April 11, 1936. Bob Wills and his Orchestra at the D.A.V. [Disabled American Veterans] dance at the National Guard Armory building.
- July 4, 1936. Owen's Ginger Band, Armory.
- July 18, 1936. Joe Thompson and his Orchestra, Armory.

In 1937, the number of mentions of public dances in the news increased to 64. One police benefit named a seven-piece orchestra led by Fount Allen, manager of the bus station coffee shop and former manager of the Palace Drug. Members of Allen's combo were Suttle, Barnes, Johnson, Waterfield, Shook, and Putman (first names not found).[14] The Collegians were another of many bands who performed at the Armory

Washington County Historical Society

announces

Annual Competition for Articles on History of Washington County

The Washington County Historical Society announces the 11th annual competition for the Walter J. Lemke Prize and the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize with a call for submissions.

Topics can address any aspect of Washington County history, including archeology, lives of individuals, or records of institutions, and can be set in any time period. Both professional and amateur historians are invited to submit articles.

A $250 prize is offered in each of two categories: the Walter J. Lemke Prize for best article on Washington County history, with a preference given to subjects outside Fayetteville; and the Lessie Stringfellow Read Prize, with preference given for the best article about Fayetteville. Winners will be recognized at the society's annual meeting in October.

Manuscripts will be judged on contribution to the expansion of the county's history; originality of the subject; and use of primary and secondary sources. Manuscripts must be original material, and not previously published; they must be typed, preferably include endnotes, and have a maximum length of 40 pages, not inclusive of endnotes. The title page should be headed: "WCHS Prize," followed by the manuscript's full title, and the author's name, mailing address, telephone number, and email.

Entries become the property of the Washington County Historical Society and will not be returned. All submissions will be considered for publication in *Flashback*. WCHS reserves the right to award one or no prizes.

All submissions for both prizes will be deposited in the Special Collections Department of the University of Arkansas Libraries. Mail submissions to Lemke Prize, Washington County Historical Society, 118 E. Dickson Street, Fayetteville, AR 72701. Alternatively, submissions–as well as any questions–can be emailed to Patsy Watkins at pwatkins@uark.edu by June 30, 2020.

to benefit the Disabled American Veterans (D.A.V.).

The year 1938 saw a total of 204 mentions of public dances in the newspaper, many of them at the Armory. Band names included Pat's Melody Boys, Alabama Boys, The Floridians (for a Jitterbug Jamboree), and Johnnie Lee Wills and his Rhythmaires (brother of Bob Wills). Other venues included the Roller Rink on N. West Street where the Globe Trotters performed, and the Fayetteville Country Club where Don Zuck and his Southern Club Orchestra (10 musicians) played.[15]

In 1939, 127 notices of dance events appeared in the *Northwest Arkansas Times*, one of them advertising a country club dance featuring the "Mashburn Melodies."

These were the days when the jitterbug made its way into Northwest Arkansas, when enthusiastic crowds of young people jumped and jived to swing bands. This dance and its many variations derived from Cab Calloway's song "Jitter Bug" recorded in 1934. Variations of this style were named The Lindy, Jive, and East Coast Swing. By the mid-1940s under financial pressure of a world war and the increasing popularity of dance venues, the federal government levied an excise tax on dance venues.

> *In 1944, with the United States' continuing involvement in World War II, a 30% federal excise tax was levied against "dancing" in night clubs. Although the tax was later reduced to 20%, "No Dancing Allowed" signs went up all over the country. Jazz drummer Max Roach argued that, "This tax is the real story why dancing ... public dancing per se ... were just out. Club owners, promoters, couldn't afford to pay the city tax, state tax, government tax."*[16]

Club owners wishing to address the desires of patrons in providing drinks of choice along with music and dancing were forced to negotiate a convoluted system intended to discourage exactly those activities, or at the least profit from them. Private clubs of fraternal orders like the Elks, the Moose Lodge, or the Brotherhood of America were usually considered first in line for liquor permits because members could restrict and police their ranks and regulators considered this a safer environment for people to become intoxicated.

In 1967, Fayetteville's restrictions on dance halls were amended to allow the serving of beer and light wine at a dance hall but not mixed drinks. For the most part, those rules still stand.

In 2019, according to Scott Hardin of the Arkansas Department of Finance and Administration, a person wanting to open a business providing alcoholic drink has three choices: open a beer bar, operate a restaurant with a full kitchen (therefore allowed to serve mixed drinks), or open a private club. A private club permit requires at least 100 "registered members,"

an associated nonprofit corporation, and "a stated purpose other than drinking." Any of these approaches involve expensive, lengthy, and convoluted application processes, restrictions on hours of operation, and other hurdles such as requiring security training for the permit holder. To date, there is no known guidebook for negotiating the process. [17]

Endnotes

[1]Ben Johnson III. *John Barleycorn Must Die: The War Against Drink in Arkansas.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2005. 7
[2]"Virginia Hotel," *The Arkansian*, November 17, 1860, p. 3
[3]County Court Record D, p. 397, Washington County Archives
[4]"Council Proceedings," F*ayetteville Weekly Democrat*, January 7, 1871, p. 2
[5]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, November 28, 1874, p. 3
[6]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, January 5, 1878, p. 4
[7]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, September 21, 1878, p. 3
[8]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, December 19, 1874, p. 3
[9]*Fayetteville Weekly Democrat*, July 18, 1874, p. 4
[10]*Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, May 12, 1906, p. 2
[11]"Popular Amusements," *Harrison Times* (Harrison, AR) September 4, 1920, p. 10
[12]*Fayetteville Daily Democrat*, August 9, 1905, p. 3
[13]David Edmark, "Fayetteville in the Green Book: A Knit Community," *Flashback*, Vol. 69, No. 3, Fall 2019, p. 130.
[14]"Police Aid Dance To Be Friday P.M.," *Northwest Arkansas Times*, November 18, 1937, p. 1
[15]No street address for the West Street roller rink has been found.
[16]Much more on the history of swing dance at Wikipedia: Jitterbug
[17]Stacy Ryburn, "Stipulations added for new private-club permit holders in Fayetteville," *Northwest Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, June 11, 2018, accessed July 20, 2019, https://www.arkansasonline.com/news/2018/jun/11/stipulations-added-for-new-private-club/

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- ❑ $1,000 Statesman
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